

tion of no great strength, it was evident that the evacuation of the defences at the mouth of the James, with the loss of the Merrimac, would greatly embarrass the future defence of Richmond. McClellan slowly continued his pursuit of Johnston by the principal roads and the York River. The ascent of the James River by the Federal gunboats obliged General Johnston to cross the Chickahominy in order to defend Richmond against their attack, as well as to protect it from the advance of McClellan.

About the 20th, Johnston took a position near Richmond covering the roads leading to the lower James and the Peninsula. His right rested on the James near Drewry's Bluff, the scene of the engagement with the gunboats, and his left on the Chickahominy a little above New Bridge. The force withdrawn from Yorktown, having experienced some loss on its retreat, now amounted to about 50,000 men. In addition to these General Johnston embraced in his command the troops under Huger at Petersburg, Anderson at Fredericksburg, and Branch near Hanover C. H., making an aggregate of about 22,000 men. His active force, therefore, at this time was 70,000 men. He also included in his command the force under General Jackson of between 15,000 and 20,000, then operating in the Valley of Virginia. The Federal army of the Peninsula at this time exceeded 100,000 men, divided into five corps d'armée, two of which, commanded by Heintzelman and Keyes, crossed the Chickahominy on the 23d, and advanced to the Fair Oaks Station on the York River Railroad.

On the 24th Casey's division of Keyes' corps was advanced to Seven Pines, a mile and a half in advance of Fair Oaks, when it took a position across the Williamsburg road and covered it by earth-works and batteries. The other division of Keyes' corps was in position to support Casey, and Heintzelman's corps was stationed on the railroad near Fair Oaks Station. When Johnston discovered that a portion of the Federal army had crossed the Chickahominy, he ordered Huger to Richmond and Anderson to join Branch at Hanover C. H. Branch was attacked and roughly handled by a part of

Porter's corps on the 27th, but being opportunely joined by Anderson he was able to maintain his position, and the Federals fell back to Mechanicsville. Anderson and Branch were then ordered to Meadow Bridge, opposite that place. General D. H. Hill was ordered, on the 30th, to make a reconnoissance of the Federal position at Seven Pines. This duty was assigned to the brigades of Rodes and Garland. The former advanced by the Charles City road and the latter by the Williamsburg road.

The Federal position was soon developed and reported to General Johnston. An attack was ordered to be made the next morning. The divisions of Longstreet and D. H. Hill were to be formed in two lines across and at right angles to the Williamsburg road. Huger's division was to move to the right of Longstreet, and Hill to the Charles City road opposite the left flank of the Federal position, and then to co-operate with Longstreet in the attack. The division of G. W. Smith on the left moved by the Nine Mile road to its junction with the New Bridge road, there to act either in opposing reinforcements that might be sent across the Chickahominy during the engagement, or on the right flank of the Federal force about to be attacked, as circumstances might suggest. Magruder's division formed the reserve. The division commanded by A. P. Hill occupied the position in front of Mechanicsville. The cavalry constituted the extreme left of the Confederate line. As soon as the troops had gained their designated positions Longstreet was to attack in front, and the troops on his right and left were to support him.

On the afternoon and night of the 30th a heavy fall of rain caused the water of the Chickahominy to rise so high that it was rendered impassable. The corps of Keyes and Heintzelman were thus isolated from the other Federal corps. This intervention of the elements afforded the Confederates an opportunity of giving the Federals an effective blow, which, however, was not taken advantage of as promptly as might have been expected. Considerable delay occurred by the failure of the troops to get into position. Longstreet, after impatiently awaiting the arrival of Huger until nearly two o'clock

in the afternoon, determined to attack without further delay. He therefore advanced his own and D. H. Hill's divisions, and attacked the first position of the Federals, which was gallantly carried in the face of a terrible fire of artillery and musketry. The Federals were forced back upon their supports, which in turn were compelled to yield to the impetuous assault of the Confederates and were borne back to Fair Oaks Station, where, being confronted by the corps of Heintzelman, then fresh, the divisions of Longstreet and Hill were obliged to pause. All that was now required for the complete destruction of two Federal corps was the prompt co-operation of Smith's division, which had remained inactive during the attack of Longstreet from two until four o'clock. When this division did advance it was too late to accomplish what might have been easily done a short time before, for the waters of the Chickahominy had sufficiently subsided during the day to admit of the passage of the other corps of the enemy. This delay gave the Federals time to send over reinforcements.

When the battle of Seven Pines had begun General McClellan ordered General Sumner to hold his corps in readiness to support the troops on the south side of the Chickahominy. That officer, in order to prevent delay, placed his corps under arms and moved the heads of his columns to the river. This promptness on the part of General Sumner enabled him to reach the field in time to meet Smith's division as it advanced to attack the troops of Heintzelman and Keyes in flank, and a sharp engagement ensued which lasted till nightfall without decisive result.

In the movements here detailed and the severe engagement with which they closed Lee took no active part, his position continuing that of military adviser of the President without command in the field. This inactivity, however, was by no means to his taste, and on the 30th he sent the writer (Colonel Long) on a visit to Johnston to tell him that he would be glad to participate in the battle. He had no desire to interfere with his command, but simply wished to aid him on the field to the best of his ability and in any manner in which his services would be of most value. General Johnston expressed gratifi-

cation at this message, and the hope that General Lee would ride out to the field, with the desire that he would send him all the reinforcements he could.

On the morning of the 31st, before nine o'clock, General Lee and President Davis rode out to General Smith's headquarters on the Nine Mile road, where they joined General Johnston. They remained there for some time during the progress of the battle, in which, however, General Lee took no part. At the close of the day's fight a serious event took place, which was destined to greatly change the aspect of affairs and bring into active service the great commander, whose remarkable abilities had hitherto been confined to secondary details of the service, and who had yet been given no proper opportunity to display his genius on the field.

The event in question was the wounding of Johnston, who received a severe hurt at the close of the day's fight, and was carried from the field, disabled for the time from any active service. The command devolved upon General G. W. Smith, the officer next in rank.

The battle closed with nightfall, the contending forces remaining upon the field in the positions they had occupied at the cessation of the engagement.

On the next morning there was a partial renewal of the battle between a portion of the contending forces. This lasted until about eleven o'clock, when the fighting closed on both sides without any important results.

On this day (June 1st), however, occurred the notable circumstance to which we have above alluded, as it withdrew General Lee from his partial retirement and placed him in a position in which his extraordinary military genius gained the first opportunity for its full display. Shortly after the wounding of Johnston a decision was reached by President Davis, which he communicated at an early hour of the next morning to Smith, to the effect that Lee had been assigned to the command of the Army of Northern Virginia. This decision was expected by and agreeable to General Smith, who was sick, and in an unfit condition to take command of the army. Immediately after being relieved, indeed, he retired from the service, which he

did not re-enter till a subsequent period, when he had recovered from his disability.

At a later hour of the same day Lee repaired in person to Smith's headquarters and relieved him of the command of the army. It was a vital incident, and one fraught with momentous consequences. From that time the motto of the Army of Northern Virginia was "Forward!" under the control of its valiant and skilful commander, who was destined to lead it to victory on many a hard-fought field, and finally, when its reduction in numbers forced it into a defensive attitude, to withstand for months its overwhelming foe, and never submit until only a meagre and starving fragment of that gallant army remained, too few and too exhausted to yield any glory in their conquest to the victorious enemy.

## CHAPTER X.

### *THE SEVEN DAYS' FIGHT.*

Recapitulation.—Lee Takes Command.—Selects and Fortifies his Position.—Extracts from Long's Notebook.—Lee Decides to Attack the Enemy.—Dispositions for the Assault.—Battle of Gaines's Mill.—Federal Defeat.—McClellan's Retreat.—Frazier's Farm.—Malvern Hill.—The Federals reach Harrison's Landing.

HITHERTO, in our detail of the opening events of the Civil War, the name of General Lee has scarcely appeared, his position, while of great importance, being one to keep him from public prominence. From this time forward he becomes the central figure of the war, and in order to properly appreciate the circumstances attending this change of conditions it is necessary to briefly recapitulate a portion of the preceding chapter.

In the winter of 1862 the Confederate Congress created the office of "military adviser to the President," with the view of lightening the arduous duties which devolved upon him as commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces. Lee was selected to fill this position, and about the 13th of March, 1862, he entered upon his duties. The staff allowed him consisted of a military secretary with the rank of colonel and four aides with the rank of major. General Lee offered to Major A. L. Long the position of military secretary, and selected for his aides-de-camp Majors Randolph Talcott, Walter H. Taylor, Charles S. Venable, and Charles Marshall. When the writer reported for duty, about the middle of May, he found the general actively engaged in superintending the erection of defences on the James River near Richmond. The battery and obstructions at Drury's Bluff were so advanced that the great alarm that had been felt for the safety of the city upon the evacuation of Norfolk began to subside, as there was no longer the fear of an immediate attack. The Federal gunboats had entered the

James, and on the 15th the battery at Drury Bluff was attacked by the enemy's fleet, consisting of the iron-clads Galena and Naugatuck, a monitor, and two gunboats. These vessels were skilfully handled and gallantly fought. The Galena approached within four hundred yards of the battery, and then opened a spirited fire with her powerful guns; the Naugatuck and monitor closely supported her, while the gunboats delivered their fire at a longer range. After a hotly-contested conflict the fleet was repulsed with heavy loss. The Galena was so severely damaged as to be rendered unfit for future service, while the other vessels were more or less injured; the battery sustained but slight damage. This defeat of the gunboats by an incomplete earthwork of only five guns for the first time caused a just value to be placed on defences of that character, which thenceforth became a conspicuous element in defensive operations.

At this time the safety of Richmond was entirely due to the skill and energy of General Lee, for upon the evacuation of Norfolk the James was left entirely open from its mouth to Richmond, and the hastily-constructed defence at Drury's Bluff was the only barrier interposed between that city and a hostile fleet. After crossing the Chickahominy, about the 20th, General J. E. Johnston assumed the defence of Richmond. He attacked the enemy at Seven Pines on the 31st of May, and was severely wounded, as we have seen, near the close of the action. That event was immediately followed by the appointment of Lee to the command of the Army of Northern Virginia. Though regretting the cause that led to his assignment to the command of the army, he was pleased to be released from the duties of the office for those of the field, which were far better suited to his active and energetic disposition. He carried with him to the field the same personal staff that had been allowed him in Richmond.

On the afternoon of the 1st of June, General G. W. Smith, on whom the command of the army had devolved when General Johnston was wounded, resigned his command to General Lee, and shortly after retired on account of bad health. It soon appeared that there was considerable depression in the army,

the natural consequence of the incidents of war. As some of the officers were apprehensive that the army would not be able to maintain its position should it be attacked, Lee thought it advisable to assemble his principal officers for deliberation on its condition at an early period.

In reference to this point, Mr. Davis, in his *Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*, chap. xxiii., vol. ii., says: "The day after General Lee assumed command I was riding out to the army, when I saw at a house on my left a number of horses, and among them one I recognized as belonging to him. I dismounted and entered the house, where I found him in consultation with a number of his general officers. The tone of the conversation was quite despondent, and one especially pointed out the inevitable consequence of the enemy's advance by throwing out bayoux and constructing successive parallels." Farther on he refers to a want of co-operation that existed among the different divisions during the battle of Fair Oaks and Seven Pines, which was productive of natural distrust that might have resulted in serious demoralization had it not been speedily corrected. The council met, as had been previously ordered, on the Nine Mile road, near the house which had been occupied by Smith as his headquarters.

The principal officers of the army were present, and were almost unanimous in the opinion that the line then occupied should be abandoned for one nearer Richmond which was considered more defensible.

The line in question was that which had been adopted by Johnston prior to the occupation in force of the south bank of the Chickahominy by the enemy, and was the strongest the country presented; but now the dispirited condition of our troops and the occupation in force by the enemy of the south side of the river caused the most prominent Confederate officers to doubt their ability to hold it, and consequently they urged its evacuation and withdrawal to a position nearer Richmond. Lee thus found himself in a situation of great embarrassment. He did not then possess the fame he was destined soon to acquire. He was also unknown to that army, and lacked its confidence. Under these disadvantages he was obliged to assume the re-

sponsibility of maintaining a position pronounced untenable by his principal officers, or of hazarding the safety of Richmond by a withdrawal of his forces that would inevitably result in a forced occupation of the outer defences of the capital and its complete investiture by the enemy, which would have ensured the speedy capture of the city. Lee, who had long been accustomed to rely upon himself, quickly decided on the course to be adopted. It was evident that the present position of the army must be maintained or that Richmond must be abandoned to the enemy, and the loss of Richmond at this time would have been of incalculable injury to the Confederate cause. He therefore, in opposition to the opinion of his subordinates, determined to hold the position in which he found the army; but before making known his determination he made a careful reconnoissance of the whole position, and then declared his intention of holding it, ordering it to be immediately fortified in the most effective manner.

General Lee then reorganized his forces and established a strong defensive line. He selected, with slight alterations, the position then occupied by his troops. This line extended from Chaffin's Bluff, on the James River, crossing the river road about four miles, and the Darby Town, Charles City, Williamsburg, and Nine Mile roads, about five miles from Richmond to a point on the Chickahominy a little above New Bridge, and then continued up that stream to Meadow Bridge. The army consisted of six divisions. Longstreet's division formed the right, while those of Huger, D. H. Hill, Magruder, Whiting, and A. P. Hill, in the order named, extended to the left. The division of A. P. Hill constituted the left of the Confederate position. The greater part of Stuart's cavalry was on the left, picketing on the Rappahannock and having a small force in observation at Fredericksburg. The duty of constructing a fortified line was apportioned among the divisions, each commander being responsible for the defence in his own front. Very soon a continuous line of breastworks appeared, and as these arose the spirits of the men revived and the sullen silence with which their labor began gave place to jokes and laughter. Those who had entered upon the work

with reluctance now felt recompensed by the sense of safety it gave them. The defences daily increased until they were sufficiently strong to resist any attack that was likely to be made upon them. In the mean time the stragglers and convalescents began to return, and the army gradually increased. Lee daily appeared upon the lines; and after a few days his presence inspired the troops with confidence and enthusiasm. McClellan established his headquarters on the south side of the Chickahominy about the same time that Lee assumed the command of the Army of Northern Virginia. The Federal army, after deducting the casualties of the late battle, amounted to about 100,000 men for duty; 75,000 of this force were on the south side of the Chickahominy, the remainder on the north of that stream, extending as high up as Mechanicsville. From this position a junction would be easily formed with McDowell's corps of 40,000 men, which, although a part of McClellan's forces, was persistently held in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg as a covering force for Washington.

The writer is fortunately able to add some personal details of General Lee's actions and mode of life during this period, from a notebook which he then began and kept up throughout the war, and which has been of great value to him in securing accuracy of statement during the preparation of this work. Though it is not his purpose to quote directly from this notebook as a rule, yet a selection from its opening pages, which are particularly full of descriptive detail, may be of interest and value, as placing the new commander upon his first entry into an important field of active service in the Civil War more directly before the reader. He therefore here subjoins the entries for several days, beginning with June 3d, the date of the opening entry:

*"June 3d.*—The day has been a very busy one. The general went to the lines early in the morning, and did not return until afternoon. The work was in rapid progress all along the line. The men appeared in better spirits than the day before, and seemed to be interested in their work. When he arrived on General Toombs's part of the line he found that general had been true to his word; he had 'no picks nor spades,' but

he was having logs piled up for his defence. General Lee laughed at this freak of Toombs's, and remarked, 'Colonel Long, when General Toombs gains a little more experience he will be convinced that *earth* is a better protection against cannon-balls than logs.' The general continued: 'There is a great difference between mercenary armies and volunteer armies, and consequently there must be a difference in the mode of discipline. The volunteer army is more easily disciplined by encouraging a patriotic spirit than by a strict enforcement of the Articles of War.' We hear from the Federal newspapers and our spies that McClellan is prevented from advancing by the softness of the ground and his belief that he has a greatly superior force in his front. If he continues to wait two days longer, we will not thank him for his forbearance.

"*June 4th.*—The general did not go out to-day, being occupied with office-work. He had double duty upon him—the reorganization of the army and the providing for the defence of its position. Our headquarters are very comfortable. The front room on the house floor is the adjutant-general's office. The general's private office is in rear of this. There all the confidential business of the army is transacted, the general's usual attendant being his military secretary or some other member of his personal staff. In the front room the general business of the army is transacted by the adjutant-general and his assistants. General Lee and his household mess together. The mess arrangements are not very ostentatious. Our meals are served and despatched without any very great ceremony. The general is always pleasant at meals, and frequently hurls a pleasant jest at some member of his staff. Captain P. Mason is the assistant adjutant-general: he had been previously attached to General Johnston's staff. We were visited to-day by several high officials from Richmond. Their visit was more from curiosity than any special business. The general bears interruption with great equanimity.

"*June 5th.*—The general was on the lines early to-day. The work has progressed very satisfactorily, and the confidence of the men increases as the work advances. The general made a partial reconnoissance of the Federal position. This embraces

a front of about four miles, the right resting on the Chickahominy a little below New Bridge, and the left on the White Oak Swamp. Our line extends from Chaffin's Bluff to a point a little above Mechanicsville, a distance of about twelve miles. Our main force, however, confronts that of General McClellan lying south of the Chickahominy.

*"June 6th.*—The general visited that portion of the line to-day occupied by Huger, Longstreet, and D. H. Hill. The troops were in good spirits, and their confidence in General Lee is rapidly increasing. The defences are now so far advanced that they will offer a formidable resistance to an open attack. General McClellan has not yet shown any disposition to advance. He has two balloons out to-day. Our troops are, however, so well sheltered by the timber that his balloon reconnaissances will avail him but little. While the works are advancing, General Lee does not forget the discipline of his army. This he entrusts mainly to his division and brigade commanders, all of whom are men of ability, and some of them men of considerable military experience. General Lee is no martinet, but he requires his subordinates to strictly enforce the rules of discipline. Among the major-generals are Longstreet, Magruder, D. H. Hill, and A. P. Hill. These have already been distinguished for gallantry and ability. Among his brigadiers are Pickett, Wilcox, D. R. Jones, Hood, and Field. These officers have also acquired considerable reputation, and, having been graduates of West Point and members of the old army, are well qualified to instruct and discipline their troops.

*"June 7th.*—The general did not visit the lines to-day, but sent Colonel Long to inspect that portion of the line in the neighborhood of Mechanicsville. A. P. Hill's division occupied that portion of the line. Hill's defences are as well advanced as those of any part of the line. His troops are in fine condition. He designates his division 'the Light Division.' Hill is every inch a soldier, and is destined to make his mark. This afternoon Mr. Davis visited headquarters. The relations between General Lee and Mr. Davis are very friendly. The general is ever willing to receive the suggestions of the

President, while the President exhibits the greatest confidence in General Lee's experience and ability, and does not hamper him with executive interference.

*"June 8th, Sunday.*—Divine service held in the different brigades of the army. General Lee attended service at one of the right-wing brigades, attended by some of his staff. Visited the lines. . . .

*"June 16th.*—General Lee, accompanied by Colonel Long, made a reconnoissance of the Federal position on the north side of the Chickahominy. There was then, on that side of the line, a Federal force of about 25,000 men, commanded by General Fitz John Porter. The main body of this force occupied a position near Mr. Gaines's house, and one division, five or six thousand strong, was posted at Mechanicsville. During this reconnoissance General Lee turned to the writer and remarked, 'Now, Colonel Long, how can we get at those people?' This mode of designating the enemy was common with him.

"The Chickahominy between New Bridge and Mechanicsville is narrow, and to facilitate its passage could be easily bridged. Fitz John Porter's position was sufficiently exposed to invite attack, and, the force at Fredericksburg having been withdrawn, General Lee determined to assume the aggressive. This determination, however, was communicated only to his military family until he had fully matured his plan of operation, which he then submitted to Mr. Davis in a personal interview."

Lee's headquarters at this time were on the Nine Mile road, a position which gave him a good oversight of the army and brought all portions of the lines within easy reach. Yet the batteries, rifle-pits, and earthworks which had been erected with so much labor under his personal supervision were destined to have no further utility than that already adverted to—the infusion of confidence into the previously dispirited army. It was not the purpose of the commanding general to remain upon the defensive and await the slow but sure advances of the enemy. He, on the contrary, formed the bolder decision of hurling the force under his command against the serried bat-

talions of the foe, as indicated in the last-quoted extract from the notebook.

When McClellan crossed the Chickahominy it was thought he would advance immediately upon Richmond. This expectation was disappointed, however, for instead of advancing he began to fortify his position. The right wing rested on the Chickahominy a little below New Bridge, and the left extended to the White Oak Swamp, embracing a front of about four miles, nearly parallel with that of the Confederates. The opposing lines were separated by an interval but little exceeding a mile, but each was obscured from the other's view by the intervening forest. The picket-lines were often within close musket-range of each other. At first there was a good deal of picket-skirmishing, but this was soon discontinued by mutual consent, and a lively exchange of newspapers, coffee, and tobacco succeeded it. The strength of the Confederate force was always greatly over-estimated by McClellan, and his frequent and urgent calls for reinforcements exposed his want of confidence in his own strength. General Lee knowing this uneasy, insecure feeling of his antagonist, and McDowell's force, which had always been a thorn in his side, being about this time withdrawn from Fredericksburg for the support of Banks and Shields in the Valley, prepared, as we have said, to assume the offensive. He conceived the bold plan of crossing the Chickahominy, and, attacking the Federal right wing, to force it back and seize McClellan's line of communication with his base of operations. This plan being successfully executed, the Federal general would be compelled to save his army as best he could by retreat. Preparatory to the execution of this plan General J. E. B. Stuart was ordered to make a reconnoissance in the rear of the Federal position. This officer, with a force of about 1000 cavalry, executed his instructions with great boldness and success. He made the entire circuit of the Federal army and gained much important information.

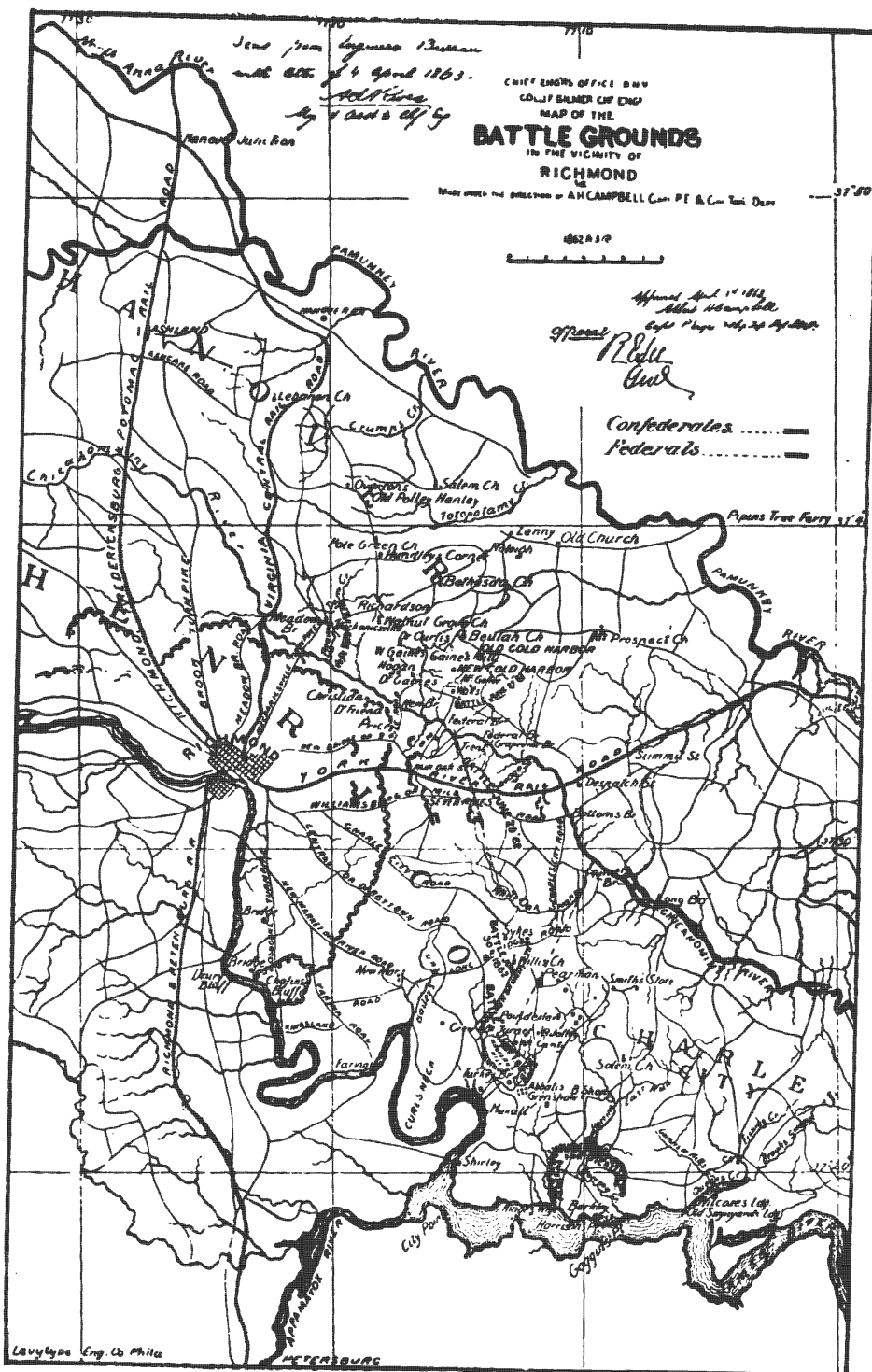
This movement, indeed, was so skilful and brilliant that it has been classed among the most daring cavalry raids ever made. In addition to the information gained he captured many prisoners and destroyed Federal stores to the value of

seven million dollars; and all this with the loss of but a single man, the lamented Captain Latane, who fell while leading a successful charge against a superior force of the enemy. He finally recrossed the Chickahominy, almost in the face of the enemy, with the same intrepidity he had shown at every step of his progress, and with a prestige of daring and success that for years clung to his banner and gained him the reputation of being the most dashing and brilliant cavalry leader of the war.

His design being confirmed by Stuart's successful reconnoissance, Lee proceeded to organize a force requisite for the accomplishment of his proposed enterprise. The troops that could be conveniently spared from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were ordered to Richmond. By the 20th of June, Major-general T. H. Holmes, with 6000 men from North Carolina; Brigadier-general Ripley, with 6000 from South Carolina; and Brigadier-general Lawton, with 5000 from Georgia, had arrived in Richmond. At the same time General Jackson was ordered to withdraw secretly from the Valley and proceed with such expedition as would enable him to reach Hanover Junction by the afternoon of the 25th of June. In order to mask his designs from the Federals, Lee directed Whiting's division and Lawton's brigade to proceed to Staunton, apparently with the view of reinforcing Jackson, but really under orders to return immediately and join that general on the 25th at Hanover Junction. This movement further strengthened McClellan in his opinion of Lee's vastly superior force, and completely blinded him in regard to the real intentions of that general.

General Lee determined to attack the Federal right wing on the morning of the 26th of June. Jackson was directed to move to Atlee's Station on the Central Railroad. A. P. Hill was directed to cross the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge as soon as Jackson arrived in supporting distance, attack the Federals at Mechanicsville, and drive them from that place, so that the bridge on the Richmond and Mechanicsville road might be open for the advance of the other troops; Longstreet and D. H. Hill were ordered to move their divisions as near as practicable to the Mechanicsville bridge without discovering them.





selves to the observation of the Federals; while Magruder, Huger, and Holmes held the lines that were now completed, with instructions to watch closely the movements of the enemy in their front and act as circumstances might suggest. The effective force of the Army of Northern Virginia, including that brought by Jackson from the valley, as shown by the field returns of June 24th or 25th, amounted to a little more than 81,000 men: 30,000 of these were left in observation under Magruder, while Lee led 50,000 to the attack of the Federal force north of the Chickahominy, which amounted to about 25,000 men, commanded by Fitz John Porter. One division of this force, about 6000 or 7000 strong, under the command of General J. B. Reynolds, occupied Mechanicsville at the extreme right of the Federal position. The main body, under the immediate command of Porter, was posted near Cold Harbor or Gaines's Mill, about six miles below Mechanicsville, and connected by bridges with the main body of the Federal army south of the Chickahominy.

Jackson, having bivouacked at Ashton on the night of the 25th, and his men being fatigued by previous long marches, did not reach his designated position in line of battle until the afternoon of the 26th. This delay was very embarrassing to Lee, and greatly increased the difficulty of executing his plan of operations, as it exposed his design to the enemy and allowed him time to prepare for the approaching storm. General A. P. Hill, on the arrival of Jackson—about four o'clock—crossed the Chickahominy and made a spirited attack on the Federal force at Mechanicsville and compelled it to retire to a position which had been previously prepared beyond the Beaver Dam, a small stream about one mile south-east of the village. The way being now open, the divisions of Longstreet and D. H. Hill began to cross the Chickahominy. Ripley's brigade, which was the first to cross, was ordered to support A. P. Hill in his attempt to dislodge the Federals from their new position. Failing in their first attempt to dislodge them, the approach of night prevented any other being made to carry their position. Reynolds, finding his position would be turned, retired during the night to Gaines's Mill. On the

morning of the 27th, Lee formed his army into three columns. The division of A. P. Hill, forming the centre, moved by the main road from Mechanicsville to Gaines's Mill; Longstreet moved by a road between this and the Chickahominy; while Jackson and D. H. Hill moved by a road to the left which intersected the Mechanicsville road a mile and a half beyond Gaines's Mill or Cold Harbor. Stuart with his cavalry covered the left flank of the army as it advanced. The guide, having received indefinite instructions from Jackson, led his column by a road that intersected with the Mechanicsville road before reaching Gaines's Mill. This brought the head of Jackson's column against Hill's troops. Jackson, being obliged to countermarch in order to gain the right road, caused a delay of several hours in the operations of General Lee and materially affected his plan of attack. It was his intention that when Jackson reached the Mechanicsville road he should form his troops in order of battle and attack the Federal right, while A. P. Hill attacked the centre and Longstreet the left.

The Federal position near Gaines's Mill was a plateau bounded on the north-west side by a bluff eighty or ninety feet in elevation, which, curving to the north and east, gradually diminished into a gentle slope. The plateau was bounded on its north side by a stream flowing along its base, whose banks gradually widened and deepened until, when reaching the bluff, they had gained the width of eight or ten and the depth of five or six feet, thus forming a natural ditch. Three lines of breastworks, rising one above the other, had been constructed upon the base of the bluff, and its crest was crowned with artillery. Three lines of Federal infantry occupied the bluff, and one line extended along the north-east crest for more than a mile, and batteries of artillery were in position in rear of the infantry. The Federal position was very strong, and to carry it required the greatest bravery and resolution on the part of the assailants. McClellan, being now aware of Lee's real design, reinforced Porter, increasing his force to about 40,000 men. When the columns of Hill and Longstreet had arrived in easy attacking-distance, General Lee caused them to halt in order to give Jackson time to gain his position. Waiting until

one o'clock, Lee ordered Longstreet and A. P. Hill to commence the attack. The Confederate skirmishers advanced and drove in the Federal pickets. While the column of Longstreet advanced by the road to Dr. Gaines's house, and that of Hill by the main Mechanicsville road, the Federal position was hidden from Hill by the intervening woods. Deploying several regiments to support his skirmishers, he pushed them through the woods. Very soon the Federal line was developed by a heavy fire of musketry. Hill's column then deployed and advanced to the attack on the Federal centre.

When Longstreet arrived at Gaines's house he was in full view of the Federal left. Taking advantage of an intervening ridge, the crest of which was parallel with and about three hundred yards from the Federal lines, he deployed his troops under its cover. Hearing Hill's attack, Longstreet approached to gain the Federal left. His first line on reaching the crest of the ridge was met by a storm of shot and shell; without faltering it swept down the slope toward the Federal position in the face of a terrible fire of artillery and musketry until arrested by the wide and steep banks of the stream at the foot. Being unable to cross it, this line was obliged to fall back. These troops, although much cut up, re-formed for a second attack. Several Confederate batteries were served with considerable effect in covering the advance of the infantry. D. H. Hill, on reaching the scene of action, took position on the left of A. P. Hill and engaged the enemy. The battle having become general, General Lee sent several staff officers to bring up Jackson's troops to the support of Hill and Longstreet. Whiting's division and Lawton's brigade were the first to arrive. Whiting was directed to fill the interval between Longstreet and A. P. Hill, and Lawton was sent to the left of D. H. Hill to engage the Federal right. Generals Ewell, Elzey, and Winder, as they arrived, were sent to the support of the Hills, and one brigade was sent to the support of Longstreet. Jackson led in person the remainder of his troops against the Federal right. The battle had raged with great fury for more than two hours, and the Federal lines seemed as unshaken as when it first began. The Confederates had been repulsed in several attempts to force

them. The day was now drawing to a close, and Lee decided to end the conflict by a charge of the whole line. The word "Charge!" as it passed along the line, was responded to by a wild shout and an irresistible rush on the Federal position. The Texas brigade, led by the gallant Hood, was the first to penetrate the Federal works. It was immediately followed by other regiments, and in a few minutes the whole position was carried and the plateau was covered with a mass of fugitives. The Federals were in full flight, pursued by the Confederates, who delivered deadly volleys at every step.

While General Lee was attacking Porter's position at Gaines's Mill, Magruder made a spirited demonstration against that of McClellan on the south side of the Chickahominy. This double attack served to bewilder McClellan, and caused him to withhold reinforcements that would otherwise have been sent to Porter. This battle is considered by many as the most stubbornly-contested battle of the war. It is true that the troops on both sides displayed great valor and determination, and proved themselves worthy of the nation to which they belonged. Porter deserves much credit for the skilful selection of his position and the gallant manner in which he defended it. The victory was complete. When night closed the Confederates were in undisputed possession of the field. The next morning Lee directed Stuart with his cavalry, supported by Ewell's division of infantry, to seize the York River Railroad. McClellan was thus cut off from his base of supplies, and reduced to the necessity of retreating by one of two routes—the one by the Peninsula, the other by the James River, under the cover of the gunboats. He chose the latter as the shortest and easiest.

General Lee remained on the 28th on the north side of the Chickahominy in observation of McClellan's movements. Instructions were sent at the same time to Magruder to keep a vigilant watch on the Federals and without delay report any movement that might be discovered. These instructions were not as faithfully executed as they should have been, for the retreat of the Federals had commenced on the morning of the 28th, and was not discovered until the morning of the 29th,

when the Federal lines were found by two engineer officers, Captains Meade and Johnston, to be abandoned, although the Confederate pickets were in many places less than half a mile from the Federal lines.

The safe retreat of McClellan to the James is mainly due to the advantage thus gained. When General Lee on the morning of the 29th found that the Federal army was in retreat he ordered an immediate pursuit. All of the troops on the north of the Chickahominy, with the exception of the divisions of Ewell and Jackson, and Stuart's cavalry, which were to remain in observation lest the Federals might change their line of retreat, were ordered to recross that stream with the view of overtaking the retreating columns. General Lee on recrossing the Chickahominy found Magruder, Huger, and Holmes preparing to pursue the retreating Federal army. At twelve o'clock the pursuit was commenced, and about three Magruder came upon Sumner's corps, which was in position near Savage's Station. General Heintzelman having retired, Sumner's and Franklin's corps had to receive Magruder's attack unsupported. Sumner held his position with great obstinacy until night ended the conflict. This determined stand enabled the Federal army to make a safe passage of the White Oak Swamp. In the afternoon of the 29th, Jackson was directed to cross the Chickahominy and relieve Magruder in the pursuit. Lee directed the other divisions of his army to march by several roads leading in the direction of McClellan's line of retreat, with the view of striking his column in the flank while Jackson pressed him in the rear. About three o'clock on the 30th, Lee, with the divisions of Longstreet and A. P. Hill, struck the Federal column at Frazier's Farm, and a fierce combat ensued which was closely contested until night. Contrary to his expectations, he was not supported in this attack by Generals Jackson and Huger, consequently McClellan again escaped and continued his retreat during the night to Malvern Hill.

The delay on the part of General Jackson was very unusual. The explanation of his delay on this occasion was that, being greatly exhausted by long marches and battles for more than a week, he sought a short repose. His staff, out of mistaken

regard for their general, permitted him to sleep far beyond the time he had allowed himself. When he awoke he was greatly chagrined at the loss of time that had occurred, the damage of which he was unable to repair. Though General Lee accomplished all that was at first proposed, yet had the parts assigned to some of his subordinates been performed with the exactness that was naturally expected, the results of his operations would have been far greater than those shown in the sequel.

On the morning of the 1st of July it was discovered that McClellan had occupied in force the strong position of Malvern Hill, while his powerful artillery swept every approach, and the shot of the gunboats fell beyond the Confederate lines. After a careful reconnoissance of McClellan's position, Lee determined to attack his left. His first line, composed of the divisions of Magruder, D. H. Hill, and Jackson, was advanced under cover of the wood near the base of the hill. Magruder was ordered to attack the Federal left, while Hill and Jackson threatened their centre and right. The attack was delayed until near sundown, when Magruder made a most gallant assault. By dint of hard fighting his troops gained the crest of the hill and forced back the Federal left, but were in turn driven back. The firing continued along the line until ten o'clock. The Confederates lay upon their arms where the battle closed, ready to resume the fight as soon as the daylight should appear.

Under the cover of the night McClellan secretly retired, his retreat being facilitated by a heavy fall of rain, which deadened the sound of his withdrawal. The Confederates the next morning, groping through the dense fog, came upon the abandoned lines. This was the first information they had of the retreat. McClellan had now gained the protection of the Federal gunboats; therefore Lee did not immediately pursue, but ordered a day's rest, which the troops greatly needed. McClellan continued his retreat to Harrison's Landing on the James River, where he took up a position. Lee advanced the next day to that neighborhood and after a careful reconnoissance of the Federal lines deemed it inadvisable to attack, and, as there was no probability of the Army of the Potomac

speedily resuming operations, he returned to his former camp near Richmond to rest, recruit, and reorganize his army.

While in the vicinity of Harrison's Landing the attack of Colonel J. Thompson Brown's artillery upon the Federal gunboats afforded a brilliant episode to the last scene of the military drama that had just been acted.

The loss sustained by both armies during the recent operations was considerable; that, however, caused by exhaustion and illness probably equalled the casualties of actual battle. The number of Confederate killed and wounded amounted to about 10,000, whilst the Federal loss exceeded this. Reviewing the operations that have just been described, we cannot fail to observe the important results achieved by the skill and energy of an able commander. On the 1st of June, General Lee assumed the command of an army that did not exceed 50,000 men. With this force he erected defences to withstand any attack that might be made against them, and besides in less than a month increased his army to 80,000 men, without giving up one foot of territory and without endangering either public or private property. He also raised its discipline and spirit to such a height that he was enabled to take the offensive and force his adversary, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers and the finely-appointed state of his army, to abandon a base of operations that had occupied almost the exclusive attention of his Government for more than a year, incurring in doing so a heavy loss of material.

McClellan, after establishing himself at Harrison's Landing, called for large reinforcements to enable him to resume active operations. It was decided to order Burnside from North Carolina to reinforce the Army of the Potomac. When Lee regained his former camp near Richmond he immediately set about reorganizing his army. His victory over McClellan had filled the Confederacy with joy, and the men who had left the army a short time before broken down and depressed returned full of spirit and energy.

Before the end of July the Army of Northern Virginia, with the addition of one or two brigades from South Carolina and Georgia, numbered about 70,000 effective men. This army,

having to a great extent supplied itself by captures from the Federal army, was better armed and equipped than it had previously been.

Lee had formed it into two corps, giving one to Longstreet and the other to Jackson, officers who had proved themselves fully worthy of the important commands conferred upon them. As they have borne a most distinguished part in the events which form the subject of this narrative, it is proper that a sketch of them should be given. They were both graduates of the national Military Academy, and each on receiving his diploma entered on a military career.

Longstreet was Jackson's senior, having graduated at West Point in 1842, while Jackson did not complete his academic labors until four years later. These chieftains, whose career seemed to be united by destiny, were entirely dissimilar in person and character. Longstreet in his younger days possessed a figure remarkable for manly beauty, which in maturer years, though much expanded, was still commanding and graceful, and his person was further rendered agreeable by a social and genial manner. To his superior physical qualities was added mental ability of considerable scope. On the other hand, though physically and mentally inferior to Longstreet, Jackson possessed an iron mind, with a determination and perseverance that enabled him to accomplish great results. He did not have the genial and attractive manner of his distinguished contemporary, but exhibited a quiet reserve, amounting almost to austerity, which, being taken in connection with his strict observance of the faith of the Covenanters, might warrant the idea of finding his counterpart among the Ironsides of Cromwell. The breaking out of the war with Mexico in 1846 afforded the youthful aspirants to military renown a rich harvest of fame, and in the brilliant campaign of General Scott in the Valley of Mexico, Jackson as lieutenant of artillery and Longstreet on the staff of General Garland gathered abundant laurels, and at the close of the war each received from the Government as a reward of merit the brevet rank of major.

After the restoration of peace, finding the inactivity of garrison-life distasteful to him, Jackson resigned his commission

in the army and accepted a professorship in the Virginia Military Institute, which he filled with honor until the civil rupture between the States. Longstreet in the mean time remained in the army, where he had conferred on him the position of paymaster, with the full rank of major.

At the commencement of the war between the States both Longstreet and Jackson tendered their services to their native States, and as we progress with our narrative it will be seen to what distinction each rose in defence of the Southern Confederacy.

It would be unjust to General Lee to pass unnoticed some of the criticisms that have been made on the foregoing campaign by General Dick Taylor in his sprightly work, *Destruction and Reconstruction*. Among some of his random remarks we find one to the following effect: "General Lee was without maps or efficient guides, and was himself and staff unacquainted with the topography of his field of operations, which materially resulted in blunders on the part of his subordinate commanders."

Mr. Davis reiterated the above assertion in his *History of the Confederacy*, vol. ii. chap. xxiv., pp. 142, 144: "It is an extraordinary fact that, though the capital had been threatened by an attack from the seaboard on the right, though our army had retreated from Yorktown up the Chickahominy, and after encamping there for a time had crossed the river and moved up to Richmond, yet when, at the close of the battles around Richmond, McClellan retreated and was pursued toward the James River, we had no maps of the country in which we were operating; our generals were ignorant of the roads, and their guides knew little more than the way from their homes to Richmond. . . .

"It was after a personal and hazardous reconnoissance that General Lee assigned General Holmes to his last position; and when I remonstrated with General Lee, whom I met returning from his reconnoissance, on account of the exposure to which he had subjected himself, he said he could not get the required information, and therefore had gone himself."

The blame implied in these remarks in reference to the want

of maps should be placed where it properly belongs—with the war-directing authority at Richmond. It is from the topographical bureaus of governments that the geographical and topographical knowledge requisite for a campaign should be obtained; and in the present instance neither Johnston nor Lee had opportunities to cause reconnoissances and surveys to be made, which were necessary for the construction of maps.

The statement in regard to Lee's want of knowledge of the topography of his field of operations and the inferiority of his guides is incorrect. The blunders complained of were more the result of inattention to orders and want of proper energy on the part of a few subordinate commanders than of lack of knowledge of the country. For years Lee had been accustomed to traverse the country between the White House and Richmond, and from Richmond to the different estates of his friends on the lower James. He was therefore well acquainted with the country on both sides of the Chickahominy, and it was natural that he should apply his previous information to his present purposes. The inhabitants of that region supplied efficient guides, and his staff officers had been employed in making themselves acquainted with the roads and natural features of the country over which the army was likely to operate. Moreover, a few days before his attack on McClellan, Stuart was sent on a reconnoissance to the rear of the Federal army to acquire information that might be useful in carrying out his plan of attack, and during the battle Baker's regiment of cavalry was kept in the vicinity of Malvern Hill to observe the enemy.

Just before the battle of Frazier's Farm, Mr. Davis with his staff arrived at the position then occupied by General Lee; almost immediately thereafter the enemy's batteries opened a lively fire, sending a shower of shells into startling proximity. Lee then, accompanied by several of his staff, proceeded to make a personal observation of the field of battle; which practice had been and continued to be his custom. After satisfying himself of the condition of affairs, he proceeded to join Longstreet at his field headquarters, where he found Mr. Davis, when the conversation referred to above took place. Mr. Davis clearly

misunderstood General Lee's remark in regard to his lack of information, since he could but have expressed a desire to satisfy himself by personal observation, and not have professed ignorance of the general features of the locality occupied by the armies.

(The map accompanying this chapter is a copy of the official map used by General Lee during this campaign. It was filed with his report of these operations in the War Department, C. S. A., by the special direction of General Lee.)

## CHAPTER XI.

### *POPE OUTGENERALLED.*

The New Federal Commander.—Lee's March Northward.—Pope's Retreat.—Jackson's Flanking Movement.—Capture of the Stores at Manassas.—Lee's Narrow Escape.—A Lady in Distress.—Thoroughfare Gap.—Longstreet's Corps joins Jackson.—Second Battle of Manassas.—Pope's Defeat.—Telegrams.

THE short and disastrous campaign of Pope affords a striking commentary on the timid policy that characterized the Federal Government in its prosecution of the war, as had been previously illustrated by the injudicious interference of Mr. Lincoln with military operations in the field, and his obvious want of confidence in General McClellan. This was manifested by withholding from him McDowell's corps of 40,000 men, whose co-operation was calculated on in the advance upon Richmond, and subsequently by allowing his fears for the safety of Washington to neutralize a powerful force in the Valley of Virginia, which might have, by timely co-operation, given a different turn to the Richmond campaign. Besides executive interference, military operations were further embarrassed by the introduction of an inquisitorial tribunal known as the "Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War."

It was through this engine of mischief that the popular curiosity of the North was feasted with news from the seat of war, by which feuds were bred in the army, and which became the source from which the Confederates were supplied with the most important information, thus paving the way for those disastrous blows which fell upon the Federal arms. Pope in his interviews so dazzled with his brilliant plan of operations the authorities who, from their seat in Washington, directed military affairs that they dislocated the plan of McClellan, withdrew the Army of the Potomac from its position on the James, and threw the whole of that army into Pope's scheme

of victory. He tells President Lincoln, General Halleck, and the Secretary of War at the White House, and repeats to the Congressional Committee at the Capitol, that with McClellan's army, 200,000 strong, he could not only dissipate every danger that threatened the capital, but could make a victorious march to New Orleans. Great, then, must have been the disappointment at Washington, after such glorious prospects, on witnessing the precipitate retreat of the Federal army on which such high hopes had been centred. Pope's chastisement should also serve to admonish the future military tyro to mask his ignorance by curbing his arrogance when thrown by a credulous government into a position far beyond his capacity.

As there was no probability of McClellan's immediately resuming active operations against Richmond, Lee determined, by assuming the offensive and threatening the Federal capital, to force him to make an entire change in his plan of campaign. With that view he despatched Jackson with three divisions of infantry and a proportionate amount of artillery to the neighborhood of Gordonsville, while remaining himself at Richmond with Longstreet's corps, D. H. Hill's and Anderson's divisions of infantry, and Stuart's cavalry in observation of McClellan, who was now slowly recovering from the stunning effect of his defeat. Having learned through the newspapers and other sources that there was a conflict of opinion between General McClellan and Mr. Lincoln in regard to future operations, and knowing the Federal President's anxiety concerning the safety of his capital, Lee rightly concluded that any movement in that direction would cause McClellan's opinion to be overruled and the Army of the Potomac to be withdrawn from the James for the defence of Washington.

There had not been as yet any understanding between the belligerents in regard to the treatment and exchange of prisoners. It was now very desirable that some plan on this subject should be established. General Dix on the part of the Federals and General D. H. Hill on that of the Confederates were commissioned to form a plan for the exchange of prisoners. They met and framed a cartel on very liberal principles, which was agreed to by both Governments. The exchange of prisoners

began under it, but was discontinued later by the Federal Government. About the 1st of August, the advance of the Federal army having reached Culpeper Court-house, Jackson moved to the Rapidan and took a position in the vicinity of Orange Court-house. Being there joined by two small brigades of cavalry, commanded by W. E. Jones and Beverly Robertson, his strength was increased to about 20,000 men. The forces under Banks, Fremont, and McDowell, amounting to 50,000 men, were formed into an army, the command of which was given to General Pope, who, in assuming the command, introduced himself in a very bombastic order, in which he announced his intention of conducting the war on very different principles from those that had been previously adopted.

In his pseudo-Napoleonic order to his soldiers he said: "I constantly hear of taking strong positions and holding them—of lines of retreat and bases of supplies," and enjoined them to dismiss all such ideas as unworthy of soldiers commanded by one who had been used to see only "the backs of his enemies." His headquarters were to be "in the saddle," and he had come from the West, "from an army *whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when found*—whose policy has been attack, and not defence." Before the Committee on the Conduct of the War he grandiloquently declared that he meant to "lie off on the flanks of the rebels," and that with an army equal to McClellan's he would promise to march straight from Washington to New Orleans. We need scarcely say that before he was many days older this vain-glorious boaster found that there were obstacles in the way of his projected march, that the intrenchments around Washington were a safer place than his "headquarters in the saddle," and that "lines of retreat and bases of supplies" were very good things in an emergency.

By reference to the map of Virginia the principal points mentioned in this narrative may be observed. About the time that Jackson reached the Rapidan, Pope arrived at Culpeper Court-house, and extended his advance corps toward the Rapidan. The Federal cavalry finding the Rapidan occupied by the Confederates, the leading corps took up a position along a

range of low hills near Cedar Mountain, about four miles west of Culpeper Court-house. Having learned that a part of the Federal force had not arrived there, Jackson determined to attack Pope before his army could be united. He therefore secretly recrossed the Rapidan, and by a rapid movement on the 9th of August gained the position near Cedar Mountain before the Federals were aware of his design. The battle was hotly contested for several hours, when the Federals were defeated and driven back to Culpeper Court-house. Jackson held the field until he had secured the fruit of his victory and buried the dead. He then recrossed the Rapidan. Among the gallant soldiers who fell in this engagement none were more deeply regretted than General Charles S. Winder, in tribute to whose memory I cannot do more than refer to the order of General Jackson announcing his death. McClellan had remained quiet at Harrison's Landing during the month of July, resting and recruiting his army. At the same time he made a requisition upon the Government for a reinforcement of 50,000 men to enable him to resume his advance upon Richmond. President Lincoln declined furnishing him this reinforcement upon the ground that he had not so large a force available for that purpose.

About the last of July, General Halleck, commander-in-chief of the Federal army, visited the Army of the Potomac, which at that time numbered 90,000 effective men. At a council of the principal officers of the army it was found that a majority was opposed to renewing the advance upon Richmond, while McClellan and two or three of his most experienced officers were in favor of it. Halleck therefore promised McClellan a reinforcement of 20,000 men to enable him to carry out his plan, that being the largest force that could be then furnished for that purpose. The Federal authorities at Washington were not cordial in their support of McClellan's plan of operations. They were in favor of changing the base of operations from the James to the Potomac River, to operate with Pope on the Rapidan. The advance of Jackson to Gordonsville, above mentioned, and his subsequent advance upon the position of General Pope near Culpeper Court-house, caused

the Federal authorities to determine upon the immediate withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from the James.

The circumstances here detailed very considerably modified the military situation, and enabled General Lee to act with a skill and boldness which was destined to astonish and alarm the Federal authorities quite as much as his notable defeat of McClellan had done. He divined, with the intuition of genius, that his presence and that of his army could be spared from the immediate vicinity of Richmond, and might be able to teach General Pope that the road to New Orleans was "a hard road to travel." Preliminary to future operations he sent forward Longstreet's corps to join Jackson in the vicinity of Gordonsville, and about the middle of August proceeded in person to assume the direction of affairs in that quarter.

On reaching the locality of the projected movements he found Jackson occupying the line of the Rapidan, while Longstreet's force was encamped in the neighborhood of Gordonsville. The army, including Stuart's cavalry, at this time amounted to 65,000 effective men, while the opposing army of Pope numbered 50,000, and occupied a position between Culpeper Court-house and the Rapidan.

Lee at once determined to assume the offensive, and with that purpose in view he moved his whole army below Orange Court-house to a position south of Clark's Mountain, where he could avail himself of the fords of the Rapidan on the flanks of the Federal army. He reached this position on August 17th, the movement having been effected, under cover of the forest, without the knowledge of General Pope.

The absence of Stuart's cavalry delayed the army in this position till the morning of the 20th, and enabled Pope—who, through an unlucky accident, became aware of the movement of his shrewd adversary—to beat a hasty retreat. The cavalry had been employed in observation on the lower Rappahannock and the York rivers, and were thus, unfortunately, not available at the moment when their presence would have been of the most essential service.

On the 18th, Lee and his staff ascended Clark's Mountain, and reconnoitered the Federal position. In plain view before

them lay Pope's army, stretched out in fancied security, and to all appearance in utter ignorance of the vicinity of a powerful foe. It was evident from that elevated position that the two armies were about equally distant from Culpeper Court-house, and that the Confederate force was in a position to gain the Federal rear. The absence of the cavalry, however, prevented an immediate advance, and Lee retained his position till the next day, satisfied that the enemy was still in ignorance of his danger. On the afternoon of the 19th the signal-station on the top of the mountain notified the Confederate commander that a change had occurred in the situation of affairs. The enemy had evidently taken the alarm. There was a bustle in the camp that indicated a move, as if Pope had suddenly learned the peril of his position and was preparing for a hasty flight toward the Rappahannock.

As it afterward appeared, Pope had learned of Lee's vicinity through the capture of Lieutenant Fitzhugh of Stuart's staff, on whom had been found a letter revealing the fact of the movement of the Confederate army. On gaining this important and somewhat startling information, he had immediately given orders to break camp and retreat in all haste to the line of the Rappahannock. During this interval General Stuart himself had run a serious risk of capture. The main body of the cavalry, under Fitz Lee, failing to make their appearance at the point where Stuart awaited them, he had become impatient, and advanced with some members of his staff to meet them. On the night of the 17th he occupied a house at Veditersville, intending to continue his search for the cavalry the next morning. At an early hour of that morning a squadron of Federal cavalry which was out reconnoitering suddenly made its appearance in front of the house which sheltered the Confederate general. The surprise was complete, but, fortunately, the Federals did not dream of the valuable prize within their reach. Ere they were able to grasp the situation Stuart had become aroused and apprised of his imminent peril. He instantly sprang up, and without hat or haversack rushed for the rear door of the house. There he sprang on his horse without heed of saddle or accoutrements and rode hastily into the

woods, followed by those members of his staff who had accompanied him. The Federals learned only too late of the valuable prize which had slipped through their fingers, and had to content themselves with the hat and haversack of the dashing leader of the Confederate cavalry.

The retreating Federal army was followed by Lee in rapid pursuit, but it had crossed the Rappahannock by the time he reached the vicinity of that stream. Pope on crossing the river took up a position on the left bank, his left covering Rappahannock Station, his right extending in the direction of Warrenton Springs. Lee confronted him on the right bank of the river. The two armies remained thus opposed two or three days, during which nothing occurred except some unimportant skirmishing between the cavalry and the outposts.

When it became known at Washington that Pope had been compelled to retreat and recross the Rappahannock, the Federal authorities made every effort to rapidly reinforce him by troops drawn from the Army of the Potomac and from Burnside's force, which had been withdrawn from North Carolina. General Lee, in order to retard the forwarding of troops and supplies to the Federal army, ordered Stuart to turn Pope's right, gain his rear, inflict as much damage as he could upon the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, and gain information of the enemy's movements. Stuart, in compliance with his instructions, crossed the Rappahannock late in the afternoon of the 21st, a few miles above Warrenton Springs, with a brigade of cavalry, and, screening his movement by the mountain-spurs and intervening forests, he proceeded toward the village of Warrenton, passing that place after nightfall, and advanced direct upon Catlett's Station on the railroad. Arriving in the midst of a violent storm, he surprised and captured the Federal encampment at that place, which he found to contain General Pope's headquarters. He secured Pope's letter-book and papers with many other valuable articles.

On account of the heavy fall of rain the timbers of the railroad bridge at Catlett's were so saturated with water that Stuart was unable to burn it, and, being pressed for time, he failed to greatly damage the railroad. He returned, bringing with him

his valuable booty, without the loss of a man. By the capture of Pope's papers Lee gained an accurate knowledge of the situation of the Federal army. Acting on it, he ordered Jackson to advance his corps to Jeffersonton and secure the bridge over the Rappahannock at Warrenton Springs. Jackson moved up the river, leaving his train to follow under the escort of Trimble's brigade. The Federals, being tempted by the appearance of a large train in their vicinity, sent a strong detachment to intercept it. Trimble, reinforced by Hood's brigade of Longstreet's corps, met this detachment, and after a fierce combat drove it back with heavy loss. Jackson, on arriving at Jeffersonton in the afternoon of the 22d, found that the bridge on the Warrenton turnpike had been destroyed by the Federals. The river being low, he succeeded in sending Early's brigade with one of Lawton's Georgia regiments across the river on an old mill-dam to act as a corps of observation. During the night the river was made impassable by heavy rains. The next day, the Federals beginning to appear in great force, Early with great dexterity took a position in a wood adjacent to the river, so as to effectually conceal his lack of strength. The river having fallen during the day, he recrossed at night without loss. The Federals burned the railroad bridge of Rappahannock Station, and moved their left higher up the river. On the 23d, Lee ordered Longstreet's corps to follow Jackson and mass in the vicinity of Jeffersonton. The headquarters of the army was also moved to that place. In the afternoon a demonstration was made by a part of the artillery of Jackson's corps on the Federal position at Warrenton Springs, to create a diversion in favor of Early, which provoked a spirited reply from the Federal batteries.

General Longstreet made a feint on the position of Warrenton on the morning of the 24th, under cover of which Jackson's corps was withdrawn from the front to the vicinity of the road from Jeffersonton to the upper fords of the Rappahannock. Jackson was then directed to make preparation to turn the Federal position and seize their communications about Manassas Junction. Longstreet continued his cannonade at intervals throughout the day, to which the Federals replied with increas-

ing vigor, showing that Pope was massing his army in Lee's front.

It was the object of Lee to hold Pope in his present position by deluding him with the belief that it was his intention to force a passage of the river at that point, until Jackson by a flank movement could gain his rear. Longstreet, on the morning of the 25th, resumed his cannonade with increased energy, and at the same time made a display of infantry above and below the bridge. Jackson then moved up the river to a ford eight miles above; crossing at that point and turning eastward, by a rapid march he reached the vicinity of Salem. Having made a march of twenty-five miles, he bivouacked for the night. Stuart's cavalry covered his right flank, the movement being masked by the natural features of the country. The next morning at dawn the march was resumed by the route through Thoroughfare Gap.

The cavalry, moving well to the right, passed around the west end of Bull Run Mountain and joined the infantry at the village of Gainesville, a few miles from the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Pressing forward, still keeping the cavalry well to the right, Jackson struck the railroad at Bristoe Station late in the afternoon, where he captured two empty trains going east. After dark he sent a detachment under Stuart to secure Manassas Junction, the main dépôt of supplies of the Federal army. The cavalry moved upon the flanks of this position, while the infantry, commanded by Trimble, assaulted the works in front and carried them with insignificant loss, capturing two batteries of light artillery with their horses and a detachment of 300 men, besides an immense amount of army supplies. The next morning, after effectually destroying the railroad at Bristoe, Jackson left Ewell with his division and a part of Stuart's cavalry to retard the Federals if they should advance in that direction, and moved his main body to Manassas, where he allowed his troops a few hours to refresh themselves upon the abundant stores that had been captured. About twelve o'clock the sound of artillery in the direction of Bristoe announced the Federal advance. Not having transportation to remove the captured supplies, Jackson

directed his men to take what they could carry off, and ordered the rest to be destroyed.

General Ewell, having repulsed the advance of two Federal columns, rejoined Jackson at Manassas. The destruction of the captured stores having been completed, Jackson retired with his whole force to Bull Run and took a position for the night, a part of his troops resting on the battle-field of the previous year. Pope, on hearing of the interruption of his communications, sent a force to get information of the extent of the damage that had been done to the railroad. Upon learning that Jackson was in his rear, he immediately abandoned his position on the Rappahannock and proceeded with all despatch to intercept him before he could be reinforced by Lee. His advance having been arrested on the 27th by Ewell, he did not proceed beyond Bristoe that day. Lee on the 26th withdrew Longstreet's corps from its position in front of Warrenton Springs, covering the withdrawal by a small rear-guard and artillery, and directed it to follow Jackson by the route he had taken the day before. The trains were ordered to move by the same route and to keep closed on Longstreet's corps.

On the evening of this day Longstreet, accompanied by Lee and his staff, reached the vicinity of the small village of Orleans, where the corps bivouacked for the night. We may at this point, as a break to the uniformity of the war-narrative, introduce some personal details concerning General Lee, and particularly those in relation to a very narrow escape which he made from capture by a squadron of Federal cavalry. His peril was quite as great as had been that of Stuart a few days before, while the danger of disaster to the Confederate cause was tenfold greater. This incident has never yet been told, and we may be pardoned for pausing in our narrative to relate it.

On the evening in question Mrs. Marshall, a hospitable lady residing in the vicinity of Orleans, invited Generals Lee and Longstreet to partake of a repast which she had prepared for them on hearing of their approach. After enjoying the meal, whose abundance was in pleasant contrast to their usual scanty camp-fare, they passed an agreeable evening with the ladies.

Lee threw off the stern bearing of the soldier and assumed that of the genial cavalier, while Longstreet laid aside his ordinary reticence and made himself very entertaining. At the conclusion of the evening's entertainment the guests informed their hostess that they must be astir very early the next morning, as the march would be resumed by the dawn of day.

Yet, early as they were, their hospitable hostess was up before them, and to their surprise when ready to depart they found a sumptuous breakfast awaiting them. After partaking of this the whole party bade adieu to Mrs. Marshall and her household, and took their places at the head of the advancing column just as day began to dawn. On approaching the neighborhood of Salem the general and his staff found themselves at some distance in advance of the column, having ridden briskly onward in the fresh morning air. At this moment a quartermaster, who had luckily been still farther in advance, came dashing back at full speed and in a high state of excitement, calling out loudly as he approached, "The Federal cavalry are upon you!" Almost at the same instant the head of a galloping squadron was seen moving briskly toward them and only a few hundred yards distant.

It was a moment of imminent peril, and one that needed quick decision and skilful action. The general was accompanied only by his staff and couriers, some ten or twelve men in all. But these were men who were fully ready to devote their lives or liberties to the safety of their great commander. They instantly formed across the road and impulsively bade Lee to retire, promising to retard the enemy until he had gained a safe distance. - The Federal cavalry, seeing this line of horsemen, which occupied the full width of the road, and presuming that it was the head of a considerable troop, halted, gazed upon it for a moment, and then wheeled and rode off in the opposite direction.

The quick action of the staff alone saved General Lee from capture. Had they been seen by the opposing squadron before they formed in line the Confederate commander and his staff would undoubtedly have been captured. Or if a bold dash had been made by the Federal squadron, Lee could scarcely have

escaped. This incident is the more worthy of relation as it was the only case during the war in which the Confederate leader was in imminent danger of capture.

In this connection may be mentioned another incident which occurred on the same morning. A patriotic lady who resided in the vicinity of Salem, and who was naturally desirous to greet the great general as he passed, rode out for this purpose, in company with her daughters, in their family carriage, which was drawn by a pair of handsome and spirited horses. Unfortunately for her, she was met by the body of Federal cavalry just spoken of, who, without ceremony and despite entreaties, dispossessed her of her magnificent bays, and left the dejected lady and her daughters sitting helpless in their carriage in the middle of the road. When General Lee rode up to the spot he found the distressed party in a house by the wayside, in which they had taken refuge. With his usual gallantry and courtesy he dismounted and strove to cheer up the unfortunate lady, expressing his deep sympathy with her mishap, and regretting his inability to relieve her from her difficulty by supplying her with another pair of horses. Since the war the lady has frequently repeated this anecdote, and, though glad of the opportunity it gave her for an interview with the famous warrior, she has never become quite reconciled to the price which she paid for it—the loss of her favorite bays.

The corps bivouacked for the night in the vicinity of Salem. On the morning of the succeeding day, the 27th, a messenger appeared bringing the important and cheering news of the success of Jackson at Bristoe and Manassas. These tidings were received with enthusiasm by the soldiers, who, animated with high hopes of victory, pressed on with the greatest energy, and that evening reached the plains a few miles west of Thoroughfare Gap, in the Bull Run Mountains, through which Jackson's column had passed a few days previously.

Thoroughfare Gap was reached about noon of the 28th. It was quickly found to be occupied by a Federal force. Some slight attempt was made to dislodge the enemy, but without success, as their position proved too strong, and it seemed as if the movement of the Confederate army in that direction was

destined to be seriously interfered with. Meanwhile, nothing further had been heard from Jackson, and there was a natural anxiety in regard to his position and possible peril. Unless the mountains could speedily be passed by Longstreet's corps the force under Jackson might be assailed by the whole of Pope's army, and very severely dealt with.

Under these critical circumstances General Lee made every effort to find some available route over the mountains, sending reconnoissances to right and left in search of a practicable pass. Some of the officers ascended the mountain during the evening, and perceived from its summit a large force which lay in front of the Gap. Meanwhile, the sound of cannonading was audible from the other side of the range, and it was evident that an engagement was taking place. The moment was a critical one, and the most phlegmatic commander might have been pardoned for yielding to excitement under such circumstances; yet Lee preserved his usual equanimity, and permitted his face to show no indication of the anxiety which he must have felt. That he was lost in deep reflection as he surveyed the mountain-pass in front was evident, yet neither in looks nor words did he show that he was not fully master of himself and of the occasion. And the absence of any overmastering anxiety was shown in another manner. Mr. Robison, a gentleman who lived near the Gap, invited Lee and his staff to take dinner with him; and this meal was partaken of with as good an appetite and with as much geniality of manner as if the occasion was an ordinary one, not a moment in which victory or ruin hung trembling in the balance.

Fortunately, circumstances favored the Confederate cause. One of the reconnoitering parties found a woodchopper, who told them of an old road over the mountain to which he could guide them, and which might be practicable for infantry. Hood was at once directed to make an effort to lead his division across the mountain by this route. This he succeeded in doing, and the head of his column reached the other side of the range by morning. Another route had also been discovered by which Wilcox was enabled to turn the Gap.

In the mean time, Pope himself had been playing into the

hands of his adversary. He had ordered McDowell to retire from the Gap and join him to aid in the anticipated crushing of Jackson. McDowell did so, leaving Rickett's division to hold the Gap. In evident ignorance of the vicinity of Longstreet's corps, this force was also withdrawn during the night, and on the morning of the 29th Lee found the Gap unoccupied, and at once marched through at the head of Longstreet's column. On reaching Gainesville, three miles beyond the Gap, he found Stuart, who informed him of Jackson's situation. The division was at once marched into position on Jackson's right.

Pope had unknowingly favored the advance of the Confederate commander. His removal of McDowell from his position had been a tactical error of such magnitude that it could not well be retrieved. The object of the movement had been to surround Jackson at Manassas Junction, upon which place the several corps of the army were marching by various routes. Pope wrote in his order to McDowell, "If you will march promptly and rapidly at the earliest dawn upon Manassas Junction, we shall bag the whole crowd." The scheme was a good one, but for two unconsidered contingencies. Had Jackson awaited the enemy at Manassas Junction, he would have found himself in a trap. But he did not choose to do so. When the van of the Federal columns reached the Junction, they found that the bird had flown. And Longstreet's corps, which might have been prevented from passing the Bull Run range, had been given free opportunity to cross to the aid of Jackson, who on the night of the 27th and morning of the 28th left the Junction and made a rapid march to the westward. The error was a fatal one to the hopes of the boasting Western general.

The cannonade at the Gap on the 28th had informed Jackson of Lee's proximity. He at once took a position north of the Warrenton turnpike, his left resting on Bull Run, near Sudley Church, and his right extending toward Gainesville. The distance of this position from the Warrenton road varied from one to two miles, the greater part of the left embracing a railroad cut, while the centre and right occupied a command-

ing ridge. In this position Jackson could easily unite with Lee on his passing Thoroughfare Gap, or, failing in that and being hard pressed, he could retire by the east end of Bull Run Mountain and unite with Lee on the north side of that mountain. The divisions of Ewell and Taliaferro formed the right and centre of Jackson's line of battle, while that of A. P. Hill constituted his left. Jackson had barely completed his arrangements when a heavy column of Federal infantry (King's division of McDowell's corps) appeared on the Warrenton turnpike. In order to delay its advance several batteries were placed in position, which by a well-directed fire caused them to halt; at the same time Jackson ordered Taliaferro to deploy one brigade across the Warrenton turnpike, holding his other brigades in reserve. Ewell was directed to support him. About three o'clock the Federals bore down in heavy force upon Ewell and Taliaferro, who maintained their positions with admirable firmness, repelling attack after attack until night. The loss on both sides was considerable. Among the wounded on the side of the Confederates were Generals Taliaferro and Ewell, the latter seriously, having to lose his leg.

Jackson, with barely 20,000 men, now found himself confronted by the greater part of the Federal army. Any commander with less firmness would have sought safety in retreat. But having heard the Confederate guns at Thoroughfare Gap, he knew that Lee would join him the next day. Therefore he determined to hold his position at all hazards.

By the morning of the 29th, as we have already described, Hood's division had reached the south side of the mountain, and early in the day was joined by the remainder of Longstreet's corps by way of the open Gap.

While these important movements were in progress, Pope had resumed his attack upon Jackson, and was pressing him with his whole force, hoping to crush him before he could be relieved by Lee. On the arrival of Lee, Pope discontinued his attack, and retired to the position which the year before had been the scene of the famous battle of Bull Run, or Manassas. Lee then took a position opposite, with Longstreet's corps occupying a lower range of hills extending across and at right

angles to the Warrenton turnpike, while Jackson occupied the line of railroad before mentioned, which, slightly deviating from the general direction of Longstreet's position, formed with it an obtuse crotchet, opening toward the enemy. An elevated ridge connecting Jackson's right with Longstreet's left, forming the centre of the Confederate position, was strongly occupied with artillery to fill the interval between Longstreet and Jackson. The hills on the right were crowned by the Washington Artillery, commanded by Colonel Walton. The remainder of the artillery was distributed at prominent points throughout the line, while Stuart's cavalry covered its flanks and observed the movements of the enemy. Since Pope's retreat from Culpeper Court-house he had been frequently reinforced by detachments from the armies of McClellan and Burnside. The greater part of those armies having now joined him, and the remainder being in supporting-distance, his arrogance revived, and, being sure of an easy victory, he sent the most sanguine despatches to the authorities at Washington. In preparation for battle he took a position embracing a succession of low ridges, nearly parallel to, and about a mile from, the line assumed by Lee. About midway between the two armies lay a narrow valley, through which meandered a small brook, whose low murmurs seemed to invite the weary soldier to slake his thirst with its cool and limpid waters. The afternoon of the 29th was principally occupied in preparation. Longstreet's corps, on the right, was formed in two lines. Jackson, on the left, having been considerably reduced by rapid marching and hard fighting, could present only a single line with a small reserve.

On the morning of the 30th an ominous silence pervaded both armies. Each seemed to be taking the measure of its antagonist. Lee saw threatening him the armies of Pope, McClellan, and Burnside, whose combined strength exceeded 150,000 men, while his own army was less than 60,000 strong. Notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, the presence of Lee, Jackson, and Longstreet inspired the troops with confidence far exceeding their numerical strength. About eight o'clock the Federal batteries opened a lively cannonade upon